other Orientals. 000

The so-called pi-mo (Bemo) among the Lolo probably correspond to the shih-kung /male instructors/ among the Chinese, and hold a very important position in Lolo society. The I have no formal religious beliefs, nor do they worship gods; they do not even have ancestral tablets at home. But like other primitive tribes, they have a strong superstitious belief in ghosts and spirits. They do not administer medicine to cure the sick, who are supposed to have been possessed by demons, but kill chickens (ta chi) or sheep (ta yang) as a form of prayer to the spirits. They kill a chicken to cure a light illness; for more serious illness, they kill a pig, a sheep or a cow in proportion to the severity of the case. At the same time a pi-mo is invited to pray and exorcise the ghosts through sacrifices. If there is no recovery after all these endeavors they consider the case as hopeless and accept death, in which case the pi-mo is invited again to pray and release the soul from sufferings in the next world. Their only scientific measure against contagious diseases is to isolate a victim and his dwelling from others so as to prevent the disease from spreading. For this reason a place may be shut off for several weeks. [756] 755

The pi-mo are the only ones among the I versed in the Lolo language. They belong to the Wa-tzu class but are respected by the Heh-I because of their special position as scholars and exorcisers of ghosts in the Lolo society. They can practice only after several years of of apprenticeship with a senior pi-mo. They are called upon to attend all important affairs as well as cases of sickness and funerals mentioned above. They also participate in weddings and New Year festivals. Their other responsibilities include fortune-telling and choosing propitious days for fighting blood-feuds among themselves or joining in battle against the Chinese. 756

The different I branches may be either "ch'in chia" /relatives/ or "yüan chia" /enemies/. The I of the same branch cannot intermarry for the same reason that among the Chinese there is "no marriage between those of the same family name." The prospective bride or groom is usually chosen from a neighboring I branch. With repeated marriages, family relationships may be either manifold or interlinked; e.g., the three chia of Wu-po, A-lu and Ma-shih in the Ta-Liang-shan region are all related to one another. The branches related through marriages are called "ch'in chia" and work closely together, /117/ giving mutual aid in times of trouble even at the risk of death. They are as close to one another as those of the same clan (those who belong to the same branch. 582 546

597

597 ADOPTION--extent to which children are adopted or exchanged; motives and procedure; status of adopted children; reciprocal relations of adoptive parents and adopted children; relations between adoptive siblings; special types of adoption (e.g., adoption of adults, posthumous adoption; ceremonial adoption); etc. See also:

Guardianship 429
Adoption of slaves 567
Artificial kin relationships 608
Adoption of captives 727
Care of orphans 736
Posterage 863
Status of children 868

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

them than we imagined. Chief Too also did not live very long after the raid, and the villages which we visited suffered no more from his ambitious projects.

The magic-lantern, the telescope, the camera and the tall Munchausen stories my companions told evidently convinced the people that the bear-like Nosu from the land of the sunset was a man having control of great powers, which would be very advantageous to those who were fortunate enough to gain his assistance. It is an amusing situation to be placed in, when those around you fancy you are somebody you are not. They wish very much that you should play up to the rôle they have in their imagination assigned to you. How many times in China has one been placed in such a situation! And how often has a missionary come a bad cropper when he has tried, out of the kindness of his heart, to be what his friends wanted him to be. I was only too willing and ready to render all the help I could to the hospitable hill-people, but the greatest of helps I wished to render them was not just what they were at that time wanting. There was an idea among a number of these people that if they could only get in a friendly outsider who was not mixed up in any of their land quarrels, and who wished them all well, possibly this disinterested friend might pull them all together and settle their constant tribal fightings which some were wise enough to see were weakening them all. By-and-by their plans unfolded themselves more clearly, and a scheme was devised which some of the wise ones thought would exactly achie[illegible] their purposes.

The first thing done was to adopt me into one of the clans and give me a Nosu name. This I readily agreed to, and was glad to be an adopted son of the great Nhe clan, rejoicing in

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

597 the name of Nhe-jah-jah. This multiplicity of names is
123 one novel feature in a missionary's life in West China. To my home friends I am known by the name my parents gave me long ago. For more than half of my life I have lived among people who would never know me by that name but who recognise me at once by a name that neither my father nor mother knew anything about. Later on a change of work led me to another people, and they promptly gave me a name of their own coining, which again would not be known among the Chinese, and now here among the Nosu I had still a fourth appellation. It is most interesting, but rather bewildering. As Nhe-jah-jah, I was thenceforth known among those independent Nosu, and I counted it an honour to be reckoned as one of themselves even though I became kinsman of the old sinner who got so drunk when his guests came. He was not the only relative by adoption; there were others who were more interesting and not quite so old, and also not quite so fond of spirits.

574 The cold weather outside and the presence of the guests within made the fireplace a welcome rendezvous for many. There was an inner circle of about a dozen of us around the fire, and a second still more numerous circle standing at our backs, deeply interested in all that was going on. We were joined soon by the widowed eldest daughter of Ah-pooh,
301 who had come across to see the guests. She was the mother
554 of three sons, and was gorgeously dressed. There is no doubt about these Nosu ladies knowing how to dress. From each ear she had more than a dozen silver chains hanging down, and, to my great surprise, a silver brooch fastened the front of her long jacket. All the women wear these brooches. Those of the servants are of brass and those of the mistresses

[179 cont.]

593 The head of the family exercises very great authority, to which his children are completely amenable until the day when they establish new households.

853 862 [180] The customs relative to childbirth appear to present no peculiarities other than the following:

Every three days the child is given a little chewed rice.

Nursing lasts only one year.

●597 The "Lolo" sometimes adopt children, which families of their tribe having numerous children either surrender or sell to them.

The adopted child takes the name of his new family and enjoys the same rights as the legitimate children.

584 The marriage request is made by two friends of the young man who present themselves at the home of the young woman, carrying certain articles of food (fowl and rice).

A family council, made up of relatives of the young woman, examine and discuss the proposal. In case of refusal, the two intermediaries withdraw, carrying the articles of food. In case of acceptance, these articles of food are eaten on the spot.

583 The young man, advised of the favorable answer given his proposal, returns with his two friends, carrying gifts, and settles with his future father-in-law the amount of the dowry, then the date 585 of the marriage. On the day agreed upon, the fiancée is conducted to the home of the young man, accompanied by her brothers and sisters, by two old women, and by the two intermediaries. When evening arrives, the marriage is celebrated by a great feast followed by dances. Six days later, the newlyweds spend two days in the home 591 of the young wife, then go and spend a night in the home of the husband. After this, the bride returns and resides in her parents' house, where she remains until the day that pregnancy appears certain. Then she comes to establish herself permanently in her husband's house.

[171] We have already found this last custom among the "Tho" of the Si Kiang and among the "Nung." This agreement is not lacking in interest. It has not been possible for us to determine the epoch to which this custom goes back among the "Lolo" of Tonkin.

583 The young folks may marry against the wishes of their parents, as we have already seen among the "Méo." The young man carries

601

601 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY--lists and application of kinship terms; genealogical kinship charts; use of kinship terms relative to personal names and teknonymy; differentiation of vocative and referential forms; morphological typology (e.g., elementary, derivative, and descriptive terms); number of elementary terms; incidence of denotative and classificatory terms; classificatory distinctions observed and overridden (e.g., generation, sex, affinity, collaterality, bifurcation, polarity, relative age, speaker's sex, decedence); classification of avuncular and nepotic terms (e.g., bifurcate collateral, bifurcate merging, lineal, generation); classification of cousin terminology (e.g., Eskimo, Hawaiian, Iroquois, Crow, Sudanese, Omaha); correlation between terminology and patterns of behavior; historical and functional interpretations of kinship systems; etc. See also:

Dynastic genealogies . . . . . 173 Personal names and teknonymy 881
Linguistic relationships 197

000 to designate mutual relationship. The system of kinship terms has been widely applied in field studies and analysis by anthropologists since Lewis Morgan with remarkably good results.

601 Lolo terms of address have all been listed in tables appended to this book. In order to avoid repetition, only Chinese translated terms are used in the text as a basis of discussion and analysis. The reader is asked to refer to these tables in the Appendix for all Lolo language forms and phonetic signs. Here, our first problem is how to differentiate Lolo kinship terms and to arrange them in different groups so as to express different kin relationships according to the actual social structure. Kinship groups can be generally divided into two categories: (1) blood kin, that is, relatives linked by ties of blood; (2) affinal kin, that is, relatives through marriage. As Lolo clan organization is patrilineal, the Lolo kinship system differentiates strictly between the paternal group and outer groups. Clan members have a set of relationships different from that of non-clan kin, and the two should not be confused. The accompanying chart of the Lolo patrilineal system and its related kinship terms will give the reader a clear understanding and a basis for the following discussion.

601 612 By referring to this chart it is possible to get a general idea of the Lolo patrilineal clan organization. From the Lolo viewpoint, patrilineal blood kin can be divided strictly into two categories: (1) patrilineal clan group, called "agnates" in the Roman language; and (2) non-clan kin group, but related to ego by blood, called "cognates" in the Roman language. Among the agnates are two groups: lineal and collateral. Lineal kin includes ego's father, father's father, son, daughter, son's son, son's daughter, and others. Collateral kin includes father's elder and younger brothers, ego's brothers, sisters, brother's daughters, and others. The Lolo do not emphasize the difference between lineal and collateral kin for they consider both as basic groups in the patrilineal clan. Lolo clans have been discussed in the previous chapter. To restate it briefly, a clan is an enlarged patrilineal blood kin group that extends to the collateral group. It sometimes includes more than ten [Chart 1 and Chart 2 appear here] [29] generations and even tens of generations. All men and women of the same generation in the same lineage are considered ego's brothers and sisters since they are all members of the same clan. This points clearly to the emphasis the Lolo place on the patrilineal clan.

Among patrilineal kin there is a branch of non-clan blood kin, including father's sisters' children, sisters' children, daughters' children, and others. All these relatives

CHART 1 (Part 1)

Lolo Patrilineal Kinship System

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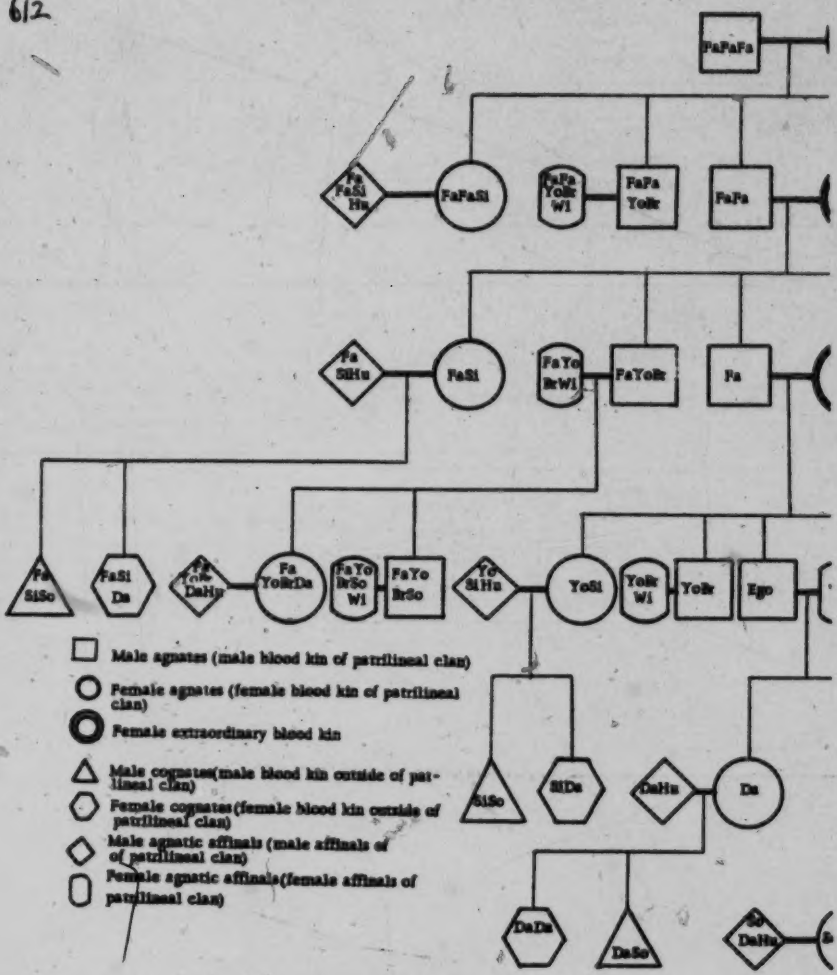

601
612

CHART 1 (Part 2)

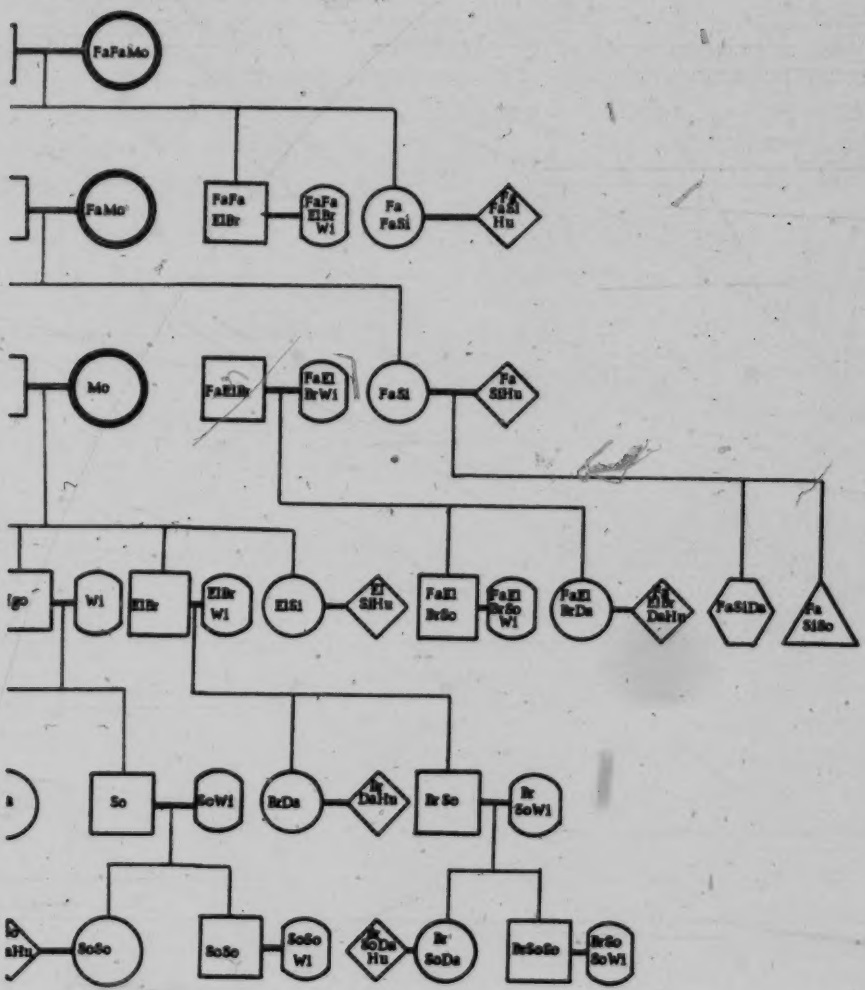

CHART 2 (Part 1)

Lolo Matrilineal Kinship System

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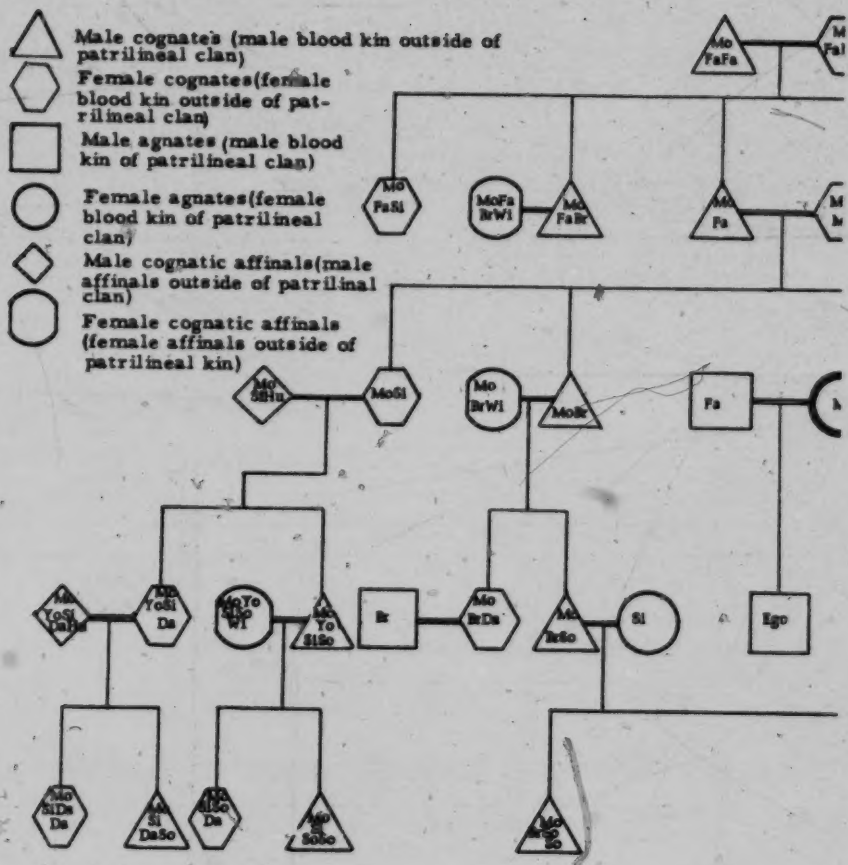
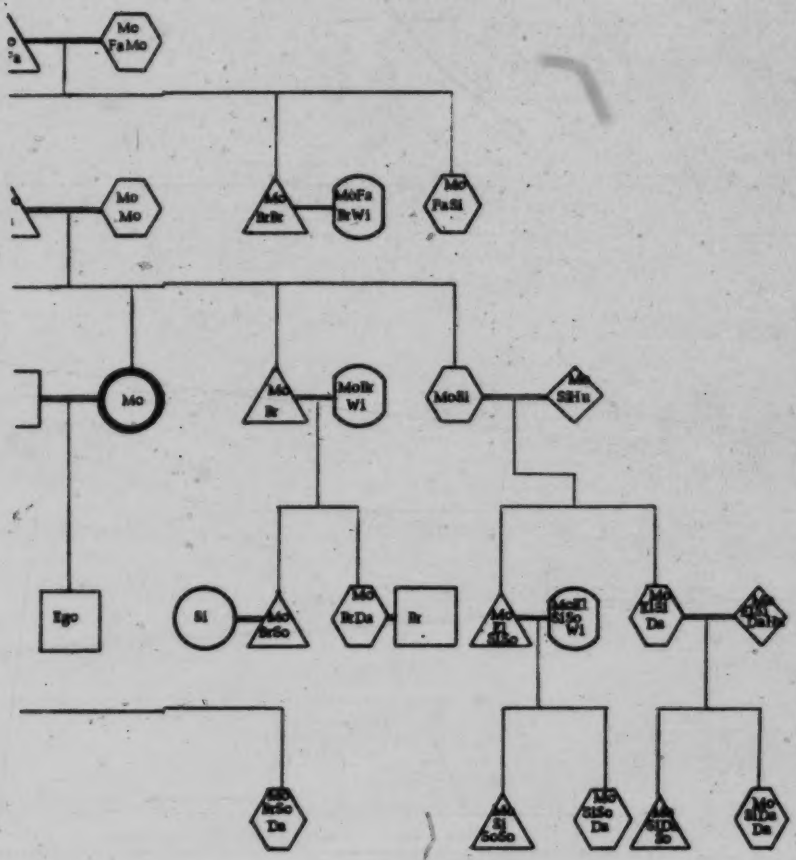


CHART 2 (Part 2)

601
612



601 612 have ties of blood with ego, but they are not members of ego's clan. Clan kin and non-clan kin differ in relationship as well as in mutual duties and responsibilities. Hence the Lolo have a well-defined distinction between patrilineal clan blood kin and non-clan blood kin.

The drawing of a kinship chart should represent not only the kinship system, but also all the different kin groups and their various relationships. In the first chart we use different figures to represent kin groups of different sexes, clans, and relationships. Two different figures are used for patrilineal clan blood kin: □ for males and ○ for females. In each figure is a term of address to represent a relative or the corresponding kin relationship. Non-clan blood kin is also indicated by two figures: △ for male members and ⬡ for female members. We would like to repeat here that only patrilineal blood kin are clan members, whereas non-clan blood kin, even though they trace their descent from the paternal line, are not clan members and belong to a different kin group.

Besides blood kin, the other main kin group is affinal kin. According to the nature of the marriage, affinal kin can be divided into three categories. (1) Relatives who have affinal relationships with patrilineal blood kin, that is, those who marry female members of the patrilineal clan, such as father's sister's husband, sister's husband, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, and others; also those female members who marry into the patrilineal clan, such as father's brother's wife, brother's wife, son's wife, brother's son's wife, and others. All these are agnatic affinals. In the chart, ego's mother, father's mother, and grandfather's mother form a special group, as these three are all non-clan female members who have married into the clan and through these marriages are connected with ego by ties of blood. They are marked with double lines to show that they are different from the others. (2) Relatives who have affinal relationships with non-clan blood kin, such as father's sister's son's wife, father's sister's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, sister's son's wife, daughter's daughter's husband, daughter's son's wife, and others. These relatives are cognatic affinals. In the Lolo language, this kin group [30] does not have special terms of address. According to Lolo tradition, all those who have conjugal relations with non-clan blood kin are also members of the patrilineal blood kin group, and as a kin relationship already exists among these patrilineal blood kin, no additional terms of address are called for. This point will be further clarified in later discussions of conjugal relations. (3) Relatives

601 through ego's marriage, sometimes called pure affinals. From
612 the male side, these include members of the wife's clan, such as her parents, her brothers, her brother's children, and others; from the female side, these are kin groups of the husband's clan. This subject will be discussed in detail later. All the above three categories of affinal kin are represented by the figures ◊ for males and ▯ for females. In this way, the different relationships between the three groups of patrilineal clan blood kin, non-clan blood kin, and affinal kin are represented by different figures. By looking at the chart, the reader can easily recognize and distinguish the different kin groups.

601 In the formation of Lolo kinship terms, some general principles deserve mention. First, the difference between paternal lineage and maternal lineage is the basic principle in differentiating the terms. In other words, kinship terms vary with lineage. Patrilineal kin groups have already been discussed, and matrilineal kin groups will be discussed later in detail. Secondly, kinship terms vary with sex. No matter whether it is blood kin or affinal kin, different terms are used for different sexes. Thirdly, generation rank is another factor in differentiating the terms of address. In the patrilineal clan, ego's father, grandfather, son, and grandson all have different terms of address. Fourthly, as lineal kin and collateral kin are differentiated, so are their terms of address. Thus, there are different terms of address for ego's father who belongs to the lineal group and ego's father's brother who belongs to the collateral group. There is the same distinction in the terms of address for ego's children, who are lineal, and ego's brother's children, who are collateral. Maternal relatives are not connected with the patrilineal clan but also belong to the collateral branch. The Lolo stress the distinction between clan and non-clan, but not the distinction between lineal and collateral. Fifthly, the Lolo emphasis on the eldest son's branch is an extremely unique feature. Without any age distinction, all children of father's elder brothers are addressed as elder brothers and sisters; similarly, all the grandfather's elder brother's son's children are addressed as elder brothers and sisters. On the other hand, the children of father's younger brothers and the grandfather's younger brother's son's children are all addressed, regardless of age, as younger brothers and sisters.

The terms in the chart are those of indirect address. Kinship terms distinguish between direct and indirect address. A term of indirect address is one which ego uses in indicating to others the relative referred to. For instance, [31] in talking

to others, ego would refer to his father as "father." Direct address is used when he directly addresses his kin. Thus, in front of his father, ego would call him "papa" instead of "father." Terms of direct address have great use in daily life and all kinship relations are expressed through them. Therefore they should not be neglected in our discussion.

We shall start with ego's generation. Like the Chinese, the Lolo have four special terms of indirect address for elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, and younger sister, but the situation is slightly different in direct address. Elder brothers and sisters call the younger ones by name without any special term. On the other hand, younger brothers and sisters address the elder ones according to a definite order, that is, elder brothers and sisters are numbered according to the order of their birth and thus conveniently addressed (for details, see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 1). There are respectively five terms of direct address for elder brothers and five for elder sisters. If a person has six elder brothers, then he would use the same term of address for his sixth elder brother as for the fifth elder brother. As a matter of fact, the lack of population growth and the high mortality rate among the Lolo makes it exceedingly rare to have more than five brothers in a family. The children of father's elder brothers are all called elder brothers and sisters in their age order, even though some of them may be younger than ego. On the other hand, the children of father's younger brothers, whatever their age, are called by their names. There is, however, in Lolo language a collective term, ma dzz gni mo, for all Lolo elder and younger brothers and sisters to denote their general relationship. The terms of address not only express personal relationship, but also regulate the behavior pattern within this relationship. For instance, intermarriage between Lolo males and females in the ma dzz gni mo relationship is absolutely forbidden. In an extended application of the term, all male and female members of the same generation in the patrilineal clan, due to their common brother-sister relationship, are also not allowed to marry each other.

In addressing the elder and younger brothers of father's generation, there is one term for lineal kin and another for collateral kin, which includes father's elder and younger brothers without any age distinction. That is to say, the Lolo term of address is unlike the Chinese in that it does not distinguish between father's elder brother and younger brother; similarly the Lolo have only one term of address for father's elder and younger sisters without any age distinction. The Lolo term

601 of direct address for father is similar to that of indirect address. The terms of direct address for father's elder and younger brothers are formed by adding to the term for father five different suffixes in the order of their birth (see Appendix 1, "Terms of Direct Address," Table 2). If ego's father is the eldest brother, then father's younger brothers are addressed by adding to the term for father the suffixes denoting second, third, fourth, and fifth. If father is the second eldest brother, [32] the suffix for first is added for father's older brother, and the suffixes for third, fourth, and fifth are added for father's younger brothers, and so forth. In other words, the terms of direct address for father's elder and younger brothers are geared to the order of the father's seniority among the brothers. On the surface, therefore, the terms make no age distinction, that is, from the term of address itself, there is no indication as to who father's elder brothers and who father's younger brothers are. As to father's elder and younger male paternal first cousins, who are ego's paternal grandfather's elder and younger brothers' sons, they are addressed by ego according to the order of their birth and bear no relation to the terms for father's own elder and younger brothers. The terms of direct address for father's sisters are according to the order of their birth, not to be confused with the terms for male members. There is only one term of address for father's sister's husband without any distinction as to age order. Sometimes, father's sister's husband is also addressed as mother's brother since before marrying father's sister, he was also mother's brother.

In the paternal grandfather's generation, there are three terms respectively for paternal grandfather, grandmother, and grandfather's sister. The terms of direct address are formed by adding to these three terms the five suffixes denoting age order. No distinction is made between terms of direct and indirect address for paternal great grandparents, nor any differention made relative to their age order. There is no special term for male and female members above great grandfather's generation, who are all addressed by the general terms for great grandfather and great grandmother.

Younger brothers, younger sisters, sons, brother's sons, and other male and female members below ego's generation can all be called by name and there are no terms of direct address. The only exception is the term sa-mo used by ego's father to address ego's wife. There is a custom of 606 avoidance between father-in-law and daughter-in-law so that the two usually do not see or talk to each other, but they may

606 greet each other at a distance. This kind of avoidance merely indicates the proper behavior pattern in the kin group.

601 Having mentioned above the address system of patrilineal kin, we can now make a chart for that of matrilineal kin to compare and study the interrelations between the two kinship systems.

Mother's elder and younger brothers and sisters are also ego's maternal uncles and aunts. There is a special term for maternal uncles to distinguish them from paternal uncles; likewise, there is also a special term for maternal aunts to distinguish them from paternal aunts. This further illustrates the strict distinction between patrilineal and matrilineal kin. The Lolo system is unlike the British and American system, in which there is only one term for father's elder and younger brothers and mother's brothers, and also only one term for mother's sisters, father's sisters, and father's brothers' wives. It is apparent that the British and American system does not stress the distinction between the patrilineal and the matrilineal. As the terms of address indicate kin relationships and reflect social organization, one can easily find out, by comparing the terms of address used by the Lolo and the British and American, that the two societies are quite different in nature.

In Lolo usage, mother's brother, mother's brother's wife, mother's sister, and mother's sister's husband all have terms of direct address [33] according to a definite order (for details, see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 3). The relationship between ego and ego's mother's brother and his wife is very close; frequently they are also ego's parents-in-law since according to Lolo custom ego has priority in marrying one of the daughters of mother's brothers. Since mother's sister may be married to father's elder or younger brother, she has the same term of address as that for father's brother's wife. The term of direct address for mother's sister's husband is the same as that for father's elder or younger brother. The children of mother's sister and her husband have the same relation to ego as the children of father's brother and his wife. Mother's elder sister's children, who are ego's male and female maternal cousins, are addressed by ego as elder brothers and sisters; mother's younger sister's children are all addressed as younger brothers and sisters. The children of ego's male and female maternal cousins are all ego's nephews and nieces on the maternal side. Because of this relationship with mother's sister's line, it has sometimes been stated that the Lolo are inclined to a maternal lineage,

601 which of course is erroneous. By comparing and analyzing the Lolo kinship system and the concomitant interpersonal relationships and living conditions within this system, it becomes obvious that the Lolo have a paternal lineage. Patrilineal kinship is the basic element in clan cohesion, and the clan village is the center of social organization. The Lolo, however, also maintain close contact with maternal kin, especially in the affinal relationships, where the custom of intermarriage for a number of generations results in multi-kinship ties. Hence apart from the members of the paternal clan, maternal kin form the group mostly closely related to ego's life.

601 The children of mother's brothers, who are ego's male and female maternal cousins, are all directly addressed according to their age order (see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 4). Wives of mother's brother's sons are addressed by ego as elder or younger sisters, while husbands of mother's brother's daughters and ego address each other as elder or younger brothers. Ego and ego's brothers 582 have the priority of selecting mates from among mother's brother's daughters; similarly, mother's brother's sons also have priority in selecting their mates from among ego's sisters. In other words, the Lolo practice intermarriage between the children of a brother and of a sister, called "cross cousins" in English. 601 Cross cousins and parallel cousins are two apositive terms. Children of elder and younger brothers are "parallel cousins" and so are children of elder and younger sisters, although they differ in Chinese terms. Children of elder brother and younger sister or those of elder sister and younger brother are all cross cousins, for which there is in the Lolo language a collective term, o zie a sa. This is in apposition to the term ma dzz gni mo, and the relationships they refer to are also opposite. In the former relationship, cross cousins [582] have preferential marriage privileges, whereas in the latter, all brothers and sisters as well as parallel cousins are forbidden [34] to intermarry.

Cross-cousin marriage between the paternal and maternal clans is practiced generation after generation; consequently, the formation of kinship terms of address has been influenced by these marriage relations. Take, for example, the kin of the maternal grandfather's generation. The term of address for mother's mother is the same as for father's father's sister, which means that ego's maternal grandmother is probably also ego's paternal grandfather's sister. Likewise the terms of address for mother's father's [editor's emendation, originally, "mother's mother's"] elder and younger

● 601 sisters are the same as those for father's father's wife and for father's father's elder and younger brother's wives. That is to say, ego's paternal grandmother or ego's paternal grandfather's brother's wife may have been an elder or younger sister of ego's maternal grandfather. In other words, from the terms of address for both paternal and maternal clans, it is apparent that the generation of paternal grandfather and maternal grandfather has already had cross-cousin marriage relations.

A study of kinship terms based on ego's relations with inferior generations also reveals instances of cross-cousin marriage. The son of mother's brother's son may often be the son of ego's elder or younger sister, that is, a maternal uncle's grandson is also sister's son; the daughter of mother's brother's son may be the daughter of ego's elder or younger sister, that is, maternal uncle's granddaughter is also sister's daughter. Moreover, maternal uncle's grandson or sister's son may also become ego's daughter's husband or ego's brother's daughter's husband; and maternal uncle's granddaughter or sister's daughter may become ego's son's wife or ego's brother's son's wife. These relatives of ego's inferior generation do not have terms of direct address because they can all be called by name. The one exception is that maternal uncle's granddaughter or sister's daughter may be called sa-mo, which is the same direct address as for son's wife.

As a result of generations of cross-cousin marriage, the relatives of paternal and maternal lines become closely interlocked and the conjugal ties of blood kin become multiplied. Affinal kinship is also affected by cross-cousin marriage, and its terms of address are almost completely evolved from those of matrilineal kin (see Chart 3 for details).

The terms of address for wife's grandparents are the same as for mother's parents. This is because wife's parents are also ego's mother's brother and his wife. Sometimes the terms of address for wife's parents are similar to those for ego's father's sister and her husband because in this case ego marries the daughter of father's sister. Even if ego does not marry mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter, still the terms of address for ego's wife's parents are the same as for mother's brother and his wife. This proves that the Lolo practice of cross-cousin marriage between ego and mother's brother's daughter has had a long history. Since ego's father-in-law is called maternal uncle, the term of address implies a dual relationship.

Wife's elder and younger brothers and sisters are also ego's mother's brother's sons and daughters. Wife's elder and

younger brothers' wives are also ego's elder and younger sisters. Since originally wife's elder and younger sisters and ego's elder and younger brothers are cross cousins and so have priority in the marriage relationship, wife's elder and younger sisters' husbands are also ego's elder and younger brothers.

[35] [Chart 3 appears here]

From the standpoint of a woman as ego, as soon as she is married into her husband's clan, her terms of address for the kin of her husband's clan form another system (for a general outline of this system, see Chart 4).

[36] [Chart 4 appears here]

"Husband" and "wife" are two terms of indirect address; as they do not address each other face to face, there are no special terms of direct address. But after they have children, they may follow the children's example by the wife's addressing the husband as father and the husband's addressing the wife as mother. On the wife's side, the terms of address for her husband's parents are the same as those for her father's sister and father's sister's husband, but because of avoidance between daughter-in-law and father-in-law [37], the two rarely address each other directly. On account of her marriage into her mother's brother's family, she sometimes calls her parents-in-law maternal uncle and aunt. By following her husband's example, she addresses his elder and younger brothers as elder and younger brothers, but she calls their wives elder and younger sisters. This is because her elder and younger sisters are married to her husband's elder and younger brothers; custom dictates that even though the wives of her husband's elder and younger brothers are not her own elder and younger sisters, they are still addressed as sisters. In cases where a [595] man has more than one wife, wives and concubines call one another sister. The relationship between a wife and her husband's sister is a mi a sa in the Lolo language; a mi actually is used by [the husband's] younger brother and sister as a term for elder brother's wife, and a sa is an address term used [by the wife] for her father's sister's daughter. To call husband's elder and younger sisters by the same term as father's sister's daughter is another instance of a man's mother's brother's daughter being married into her father's sister's family. By referring to Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 5, it is apparent that the terms of direct address between a wife and her husband's sisters [Chart 5 appears here] [38] vary slightly. The eldest among them is called a sa, whether it be for sister to call first elder brother's wife or for wife to

CHART 3

Kinship System of Wife's Clan

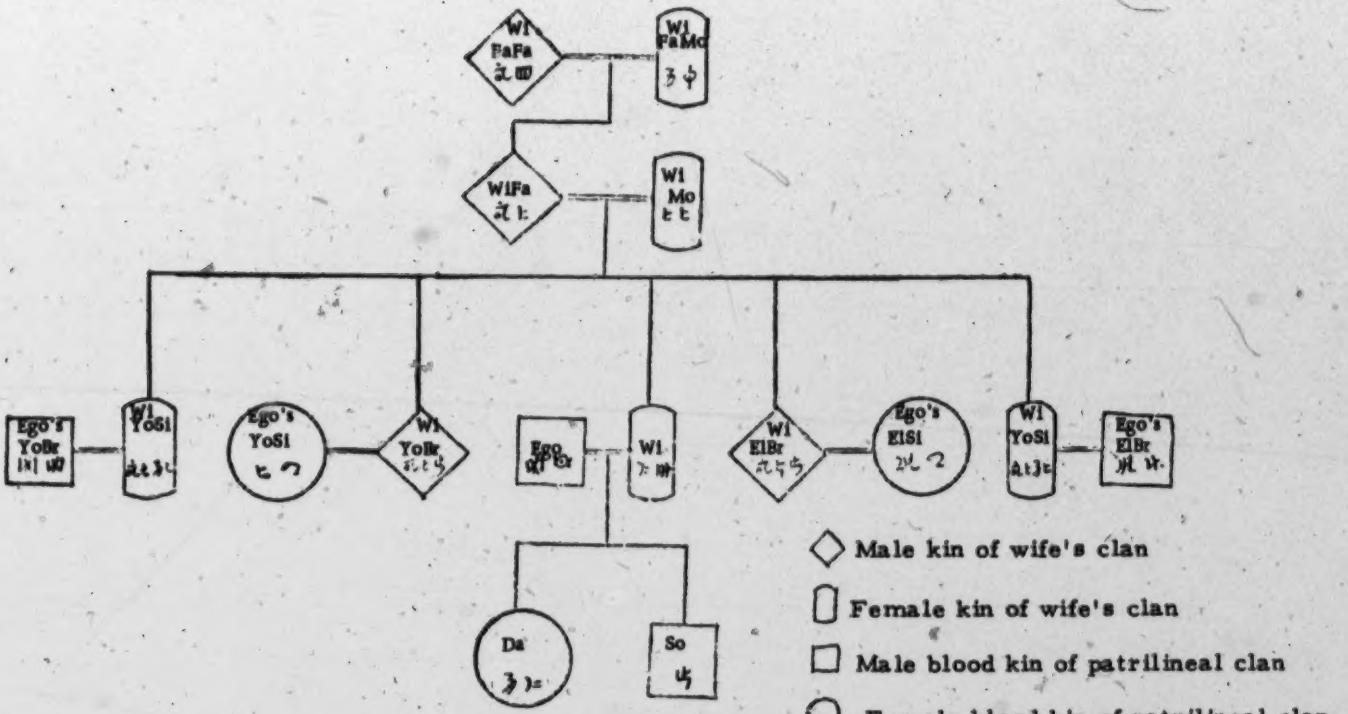
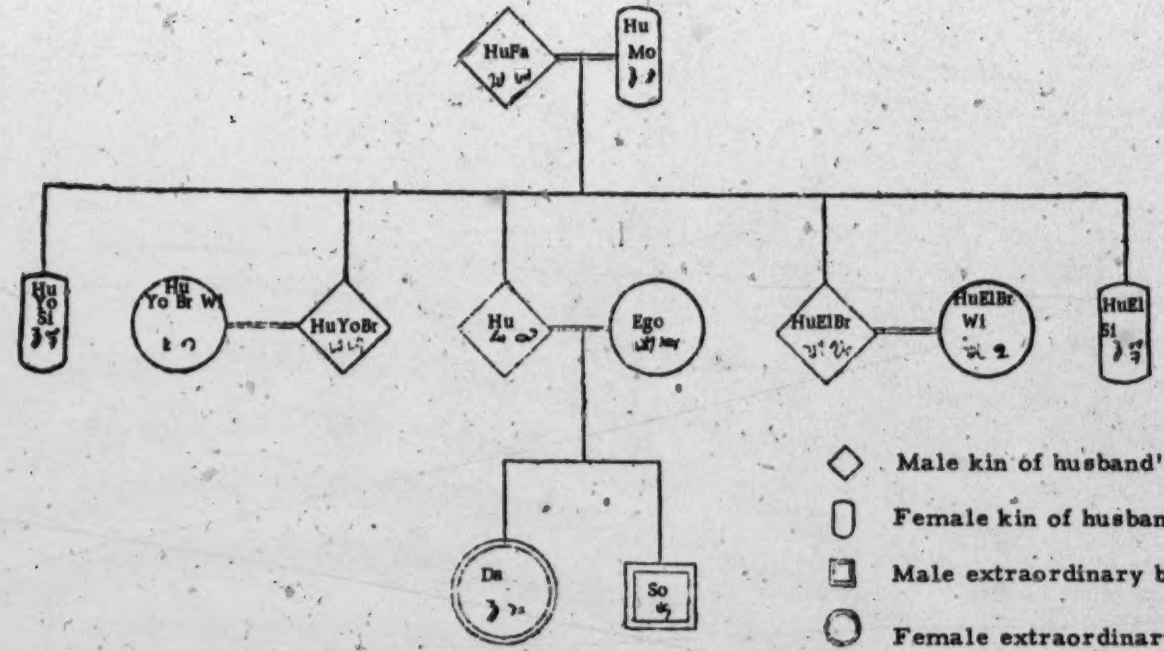


CHART 4

Kinship System of Husband's Clan



call husband's first elder sister; the others are called according to the order of their seniority. In general, the wife's terms of address for her husband's clan, with the exception of husband's parents, husband's brother's wife, and husband's sister, follow closely the terms of address used by the husband for his clan kin.

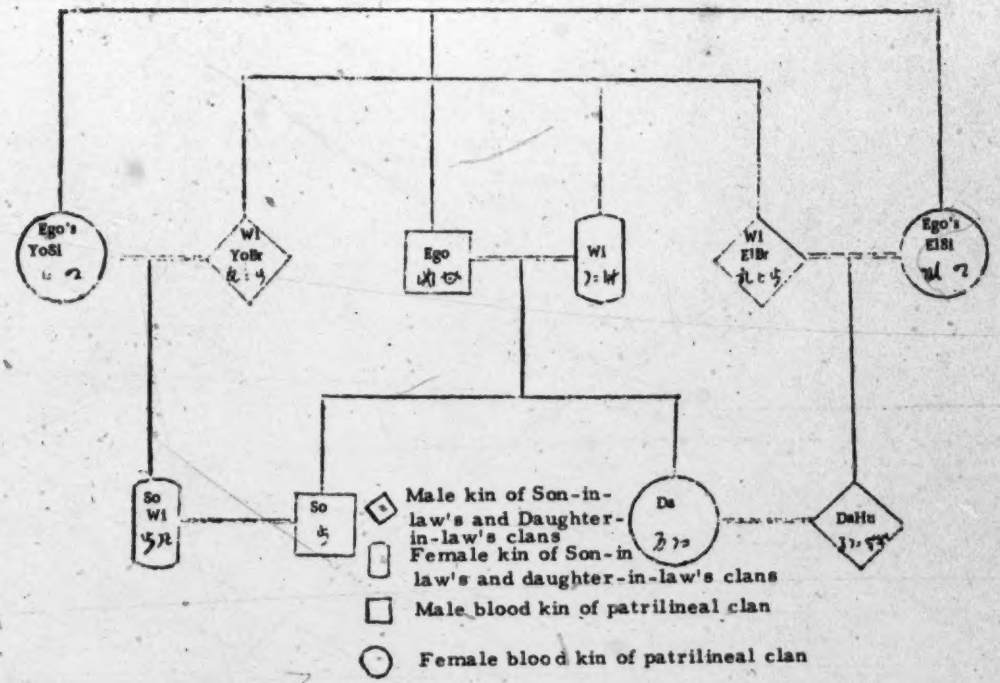
The terms of address for members of the son-in-law's clan and those of the daughter-in-law's clan are also completely influenced by cross-cousin marriage relations (for this relationship, see Chart 5, Kinship System of Son-in-law's and Daughter-in-law's Clans).

In this chart, daughter's husband's father is ego's wife's elder brother and also ego's mother's brother's son, and daughter's husband's mother is ego's elder or younger sister. Son's wife's father is ego's wife's younger brother and also ego's mother's brother's son, and son's wife's mother is again ego's elder or younger sister. On account of this relationship, ego and ego's son-in-law's father or daughter-in-law's father call one another maternal first cousins, while ego's wife and son-in-law's mother or daughter-in-law's mother address one another as sisters-in-law.

Generally speaking, in the Lolo system of kinship address, daughter-in-law's and son-in-law's clans are evolved from wife's clan, just as wife's clan is evolved from the kin of mother's clan. After all, paternal kin and maternal kin are the most basic and also the most important. Because of the priority in selecting mates from among cross cousins, there are intermarriages and mutual dependence among members of paternal and maternal clans, which result in these special features of the Lolo kinship system.

CHART 5

Kinship System of Son-in-law's and Daughter-in-law's Clans



1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

582 same priority over her, a daughter of his paternal aunt. Therefore, there is a mutual marriage relationship between the sons and daughters of the two families. One can find many evidences of this form of cross-cousin marriage from Lolo kinship terms.

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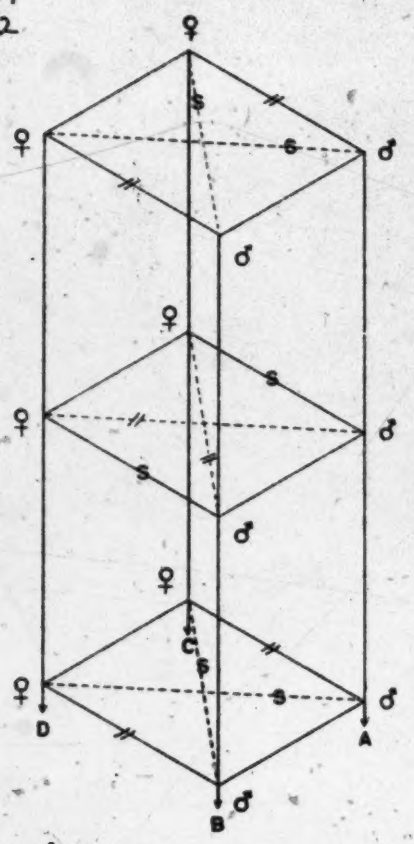
582 Because of his marriage to maternal uncle's daughter, the boy also calls his father-in-law maternal uncle and his mother-in-law maternal uncle's wife. Hence the son-in-law is also the sister's son. On the other hand, because of her marriage to the son of her paternal aunt's family, the girl calls her husband's mother paternal aunt and her husband's father paternal aunt's husband.



Cross-cousin marriage is not unilateral, but multiple. The boy also sometimes marries the daughter of the paternal aunt; so he calls his mother-in-law paternal aunt and his father-in-law paternal aunt's husband. In this case, the son-in-law is also the wife's brother's son. [51] The girl is sometimes married to the son of the maternal uncle; therefore she calls her husband's parents maternal uncle and maternal uncle's wife. In that case the daughter-in-law is the husband's sister's daughter.

582 [601] Since the Lolo have practiced cross-cousin marriage for generations, there are no special kinship terms of address between wife's parents and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. The two clans of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law are bifurcated from the wife's clan, which in turn is bifurcated from the mother's clan. The relationship between the patrilineal and matrilineal clans is the closest as they are continuously interlinked through marriage. To illustrate this interrelationship between cross-cousin marriage and clan organization, the above figure is given.

In the solid rectangle, the three parallelograms represent three generations, namely, father, son, and son's son. The straight lines from the four corners A, B, C, and D denote their descending lineage, the male from father, son, to son's son, and the female from mother, daughter, to daughter's daughter. In the first generation, A and B are two males, each representing a clan and each having a sister. D, the sister of A, is married to B as wife; C, the sister of B, is married to A as wife, that is, A and B marry each other's sister. In the second generation, the children of A and B, because of the priority of cross-cousin [52] marriage, are also mutually matched, so that the son of A marries the daughter of B, and the son of B marries the daughter of A. Thus the children of A and B have a double cross-cousin relationship. To the son of A, the daughter of B is father's sister's daughter as well as mother's brother's daughter. To the daughter of B, the son of A is father's sister's son as well as mother's brother's son. In the third generation, again because of mutual cross-cousin marriage, the relationship reverts to the formula of the first generation. The daughter of A's daughter is married to the son of A's son, and the daughter of B's daughter married to the son of B's son. Thus each returns to her original clan. In other words, intermarriages between the clans of A and B are all cross-cousin marriages; thus in principle, cross-cousin marriages can be practiced without end from generation to generation.

605 835 Because of their priority in marriage, Lolo cross-cousins treat each other quite differently from the way brothers and sisters treat each other. Cross-cousins of the opposite sex who have preferential marriage privileges can make love freely among themselves; they can play and flirt with each other and eventually have sexual relationships. This is quite different from the strict relationship between brothers and sisters, who never act loosely toward each other. Therefore it can be seen how customs and traditions mold individual

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000 behavior and attitudes and how they regulate interpersonal obligations and duties.

582 Fourthly, Lolo preferential marriage is limited to
605 cross-cousins, including ego and father's sister's daughter or ego and mother's brother's daughter. As to parallel cousins, in addition to father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter and ego are also prohibited from contracting marriage relationships. This prohibition of maternal parallel-cousin marriage is quite different from the Han-Chinese custom and may be due to the Lolo emphasis on the maternal lineage. The children of the maternal aunt are treated in the same way as the children of the paternal uncle. In the Lolo
[601] language, mother's sister's children are also addressed as ma dzz gni mo, denoting a relationship similar to that between brothers and sisters. Therefore they are accorded the same treatment.

582 To make it easy to understand, a chart is given on the following page to indicate the marriage relationship or the interdiction of a marriage relationship between brothers and sisters of the same generation and between male and female cousins of different categories.

587 Fifthly, the Lolo practice the levirate, which means that a man marries the widow of his deceased brother, whether an elder or younger brother. This tradition is quite different from the Han-Chinese, but may have the same origin as the adelphogamy of the Tibetan people, or a variation of it. As a
587 whole the Lolo levirate tends to keep the womenfolk within the
614 clan. Once a woman has entered a clan, she is not supposed to remarry into another, but can only be transferred by marriage within the clan so that she will remain forever its member.

[53 - Chart appears here.]

587 [54] The levirate is known as "marriage transference within the clan branch." Transferring the marriage to an elder or younger brother of the deceased's generation is considered good form. If there is no blood brother, then a male paternal cousin from the nearest in kinship to the most distant is also acceptable. The practice of marriage transference has had a long history and prevails among the Lolo everywhere. Today the levirate is practiced not only within the same generation, but there is also the practice of the nephew's marrying the widow of father's younger brother or the younger uncle's marrying the widow of brother's son. Cases like these are quite numerous. For example, the wife of our second headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Lao-mu, is En-cha

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APPENDIX I

Lolo Kinship Terms

A. A Table of Principal Lolo Kinship Terms

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Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
𐀀𐀨	a dm	曾祖,高祖,外曾祖	Father's paternal grandfather, father's father's paternal grandfather, mother's paternal grandfather.
𐀀𐀱	a pi-z	曾祖母,高祖母 外曾祖母	Father's paternal grandfather's wife, father's father's paternal grandfather's wife, mother's paternal grandfather's wife
𐀀𐀲	a ps	祖,伯祖,叔祖	Father's father, father's father's older brother, father's father's younger brother.
𐀀𐀳	a z	祖母,伯祖母,叔祖母,外祖姑母	Father's father's wife, father's father's older brother's wife, father's father's younger brother's wife, mother's father's sister.
𐀀𐀴	a ma	祖姑,外祖母,堂外祖母,岳祖母	Father's father's sister, mother's mother, mother's father's brother's wife, wife's father's father's wife.
𐀵𐀲	o ps	外祖,堂外祖,岳祖父	Mother's father, mother's father's brother, wife's father's father.
𐀀𐀶	a bo	父	Father.
𐀀𐀷	a mu	母	Mother.
𐀸𐀸	da da	大伯父(直接称谓)	Father's first older brother (direct address).
𐀹𐀲	p(a) o	伯父,叔父	Father's older brother, father's younger brother.

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[illegible]	mo gni	伯母,叔母,姨母	Father's elder brother's wife, father's younger brother's wife, mother's sister.
[illegible]	a ber	姑母,丧母,姑	Father's sister, wife's mother, husband's mother.
[illegible]	i pi	姑父,丧父,翁(ꑍ字普通读为gni音)	Father's sister's husband, wife's father, husband's father(ꑍ is ordinarily pronounced as gni).
[illegible]	o gni	舅父,丧父,翁	Mother's brother, wife's father, husband's father.
[illegible]	gni gni	舅母,丧母,姑	Mother's brother's wife, wife's mother, husband's mother.
[illegible]	ngo	我	Self.
[illegible]	i de	自己	Ego.
[illegible]	bo dzo	丈夫	Husband
[illegible]	ni gni	妻	Wife.
[illegible]	vi[illegible]o	兄,堂兄,姨兄	Elder brother, father's elder brother's son, mother's elder sister's son.
[illegible]	ze zze	大哥(直接称谓)	First elder brother (direct address).

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ꆏ ꃅ	a mi	嫂,姨嫂,舅表妹妹(直接称谓)	Elder brother's wife, mother's sister's son's wife, mother's brother's elder and younger daughters (direct address).
ꀋ ꂿ ꉼ	vi mo	姊,堂姊,姨姊	Elder sister, father's elder brother's daughter, mother's elder sister's daughter.
ꆏ ꉼ	a vi	大姊(直接称谓)	First elder sister (direct address).
ꁧ ꁧ	i i	弟,堂弟,姨弟	Younger brother, father's younger brother's son, mother's younger sister's son.
ꃅ ꂷ	gui ma	弟婶,姨弟婶	Younger brother's wife, mother's younger sister's son's wife.
ꉆ ꂿ	gui mo	妹,堂妹,姨妹	Younger sister, father's younger brother's daughter, mother's younger sister's daughter.
ꆏ ꁯ ꑍ	a-bar zin	姑表兄弟	Father's sister's elder and younger sons.
ꆏ ꑘ	a m	姑表姊妹,大嫂,或大姑(直接称谓)	Father's sister's elder and younger daughters, first elder brother's wife or husband's first elder sister (direct address).
ꀊ ꉆ ꑍ	o gui zin	舅表兄弟	Mother's brother's elder and younger sons.
ꀊ ꌠ	o zie	舅表兄弟,表兄弟,又就家三者的直接称谓	Mother's brother's elder and younger sons, wife's elder and younger brothers, parents of husband and parents of wife (direct address for all three).
ꀊ ꉆ ꆏ ꉼ	o gui a mi	舅表姊妹	Mother's brother's elder and younger daughters.

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ꀠ ꁱ ꌠ ꂷ	ma dzz gui mo	兄弟,叔妹,平行從表(已指定兄弟叔妹及姊妹兄弟叔妹)	Elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, younger sister, parallel cousins (including father's elder and younger brother's sons and daughters, and mother's elder and younger sister's sons and daughters).
ꀘ ꀋ ꆹ ꑍ	o zie a m	交錯從表或姑舅表兄弟姊妹	Cross-cousins, or father's sister's sons and daughters and mother's brother's sons and daughters.
ꑍ ꀘ ꑍ ꑍ	vi o i i	兄弟,姊兄弟連襟	Elder brother, younger brother, mother's sister's sons, husbands of sisters.
ꀘ ꂷ ꂷ ꂷ	vi mo gui mo	姊妹,姊娌,姊妹妹	Elder sister, younger sister, wives of brothers, mother's sister's daughters.
ꆹ ꑍ ꆹ ꌠ	a ni a m	姑娘,親母	Husband's sister, brother's wife, blood mother.
ꑌ	zin	子	Son.
ꑌ ꀑ	zin ʻi	子媳	Son's wife.
ꌠ ꂷ	m mo	子媳,外甥女及兄姊女二者的互稱稱謂	Son's wife, sister's daughter, and brother's daughter (direct address for all three).
ꆹ ꀘ	a mi	女	Daughter
ꆹ ꀘ ꌠ ꃅ	a mi m zar	婿(ꌠ ꃅ一詞應用于從生婚姻關係之男子,如姑丈,姊妹丈,女婿,侄婿,甥婿等)	Daughter's husband (the term ꌠ ꃅ is applied to males related by marriage, such as father's sister's husband, elder or younger sister's husband, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, etc.).
ꑌ ꃅ	zin dn	侄,姊姪	Brother's son, mother's sister's son's son.

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ꆏ ꂰ ꀕ ꌠ	xin du ǰi mo	侄媳,姨侄媳	Brother's son's wife, mother's sister's son's son's wife.
ꆏ ꀋ ꂰ	a mi du	侄女,姨侄女	Brother's daughter, mother's sister's son's daughter.
ꀘ ꑍ ꆏ	o zie xin	舅表侄,婿,侄婿	Mother's brother's son's son, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband.
ꀘ ꑍ ꆏ ꀋ	o zie a mi	舅表侄女,媳,侄媳	Mother's brother's son's daughter, son's wife, brother's son's wife.
ꂷ ꌠ ꌕ ꆏ	gui mo xin	外甥,婿,侄婿	Sister's son, daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband.
ꂷ ꌠ ꌕ ꀋ	gui mo a mi	外甥女,媳,侄媳	Sister's daughter, son's wife, brother's son's wife.
ꂷ ꉼ	ər bu	孫,曾孫,玄孫	Son's son, son's son's son, son's son's son.
ꂷ ꀕ	ər ci	孫媳	Son's son's wife.
ꂷ ꌠ	ər ma	孫女	Son's daughter.
ꂷ ꉼ ꂰ	ər bu du	侄孫	Brother's son's son.
ꂷ ꌠ ꂰ	ər ma du	侄孫女	Brother's son's daughter.
ꒉ ꂷ ꉼ	a ər bu	外孫	Daughter's son.
ꒉ ꂷ ꌠ	a ər ma	外孫女	Daughter's daughter.
ꓬ ꁅ ꑍ ꑭ ꑍ	ǰi ge zie nǔ zi	長次三四五 (此五音加於名詞之後,用於直接稱謂,以表示長幼之次序)	First, second, third, fourth, fifth (These five sounds are added to the end of each term in direct address to indicate the order of their age).

Notes on Lolo Pronunciation

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b, d, dz, g: containing perhaps two kinds of sound--voiced consonant and soft, voiceless consonant--but indistinguishable here.

č, p: strongly aspirated stops.

s, č, dz, z: placement for pronunciation not clear.

ng: tongue-root nasal sound, as in English "sing."

gn: tongue-blade nasal sound, as in French "magnifique."

ar: like the "r" sound in western United States, or as in English "bird."

a: mixed or back non-lip-rounded vowel.

ü: front lip-rounded vowel, as in French "tu."

z: tongue-point vowel, as in Peking dialect "tzu" and "szu."

x: tongue-root fricative, as in German "rauchen."

-n: indicating nasalized vowel.

ĭ, ŭ: diacritical marks to indicate long vowel, but may be due to differences in pronunciation.

B. Lolo Terms of Direct Address

Table 1

601

Direct address used by younger brother and younger sister for elder brother and elder sister (including elder brother's wife).			
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
ꆏ ꆏ	mu mu	大哥	First elder brother
ꆏ ꑍ	a na	大嫂	First elder brother's wife
ꆏ ꌠ	mu ga	二哥	Second elder brother
ꆏ ꃅꂿ ꌠ	a mi ga	二嫂	Second elder brother's wife
ꆏ ꌋ	mu zie	三哥	Third elder brother
ꆏ ꃅꂿ ꌋ	a mi zie	三嫂	Third elder brother's wife
ꆏ ꀕ	mu nü	四哥	Fourth elder brother
ꆏ ꃅꂿ ꀕ	a mi nü	四嫂	Fourth elder brother's wife
ꆏ ꒉꒉ	mu zi	五哥	Fifth elder brother
ꆏ ꃅꂿ ꒉꒉ	a mi zi	五嫂	Fifth elder brother's wife
ꆏ ꉼ	a vi	大妹	First elder sister
ꆏ ꌠ	a ga	二妹	Second elder sister
ꆏ ꌋ	a zie	三妹	Third elder sister
ꆏ ꀕ	a nü	四妹	Fourth elder sister
ꆏ ꒉꒉ	a zi	五妹	Fifth elder sister

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Table 2

Direct address for mother's brother, mother's brother's wife, mother's sister, mother's sister's husband.			
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
[illegible]	o ǰi	大舅父	Mother's first elder brother
[illegible]	gui gui	大舅母	Mother's first elder brother's wife
[illegible]	o gu	二舅父	Mother's second elder brother
[illegible]	gui gu	二舅母	Mother's second elder brother's wife
[illegible]	o zie	三舅父	Mother's third elder brother
[illegible]	gui zie	三舅母	Mother's third elder brother's wife
[illegible]	o ni	四舅父	Mother's fourth elder brother
[illegible]	gui ni	四舅母	Mother's fourth elder brother's wife
[illegible]	o zi	五舅父	Mother's fifth elder brother
[illegible]	gui zi	五舅母	Mother's fifth elder brother's wife
[illegible]	mo ǰi	大姨母	Mother's first elder sister
[illegible]	a bo ǰi	大姨父	Mother's first elder sister's husband
[illegible]	mo gu	二姨母	Mother's second elder sister
[illegible]	a bo gu	二姨父	Mother's second elder sister's husband
[illegible]	mo zie	三姨母	Mother's third elder sister
[illegible]	a bo zie	三姨父	Mother's third elder sister's husband
[illegible]	mo ni	四姨母	Mother's fourth elder sister
[illegible]	a bo ni	四姨父	Mother's fourth elder sister's husband
[illegible]	mo zi	五姨母	Mother's fifth elder sister
[illegible]	a bo zi	五姨父	Mother's fifth elder sister's husband

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Table 3

Direct address for father's elder brother, father's elder brother's wife, father's younger brother, father's younger brother's wife, and father's sister (including father's sister husband).

Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
ꆹꃅꀕ(ꆹꆹ)	a bo zi (da da)	伯父	Father's elder brother
ꂷꀘꀕ	mo gui zi	伯母	Father's elder brother's wife
ꆹꃅꀋ	a bo ga	伯父或叔父	Father's elder brother or father's younger brother
ꂷꀘꀋ	mo gui ga	伯母或叔母	Father's elder brother's wife or father's younger brother's wife
ꆹꃅꀊ	a bo zio	伯父或叔父	Father's elder brother or father's younger brother
ꂷꀘꀊ	mo gui zio	伯母或叔母	Father's elder brother's wife or father's younger brother's wife
ꆹꃅꀉ	a bo ni	伯父或叔父	Father's elder brother or father's younger brother
ꂷꀘꀉ	mo gui ni	伯母或叔母	Father's elder brother's wife or father's younger brother's wife
ꆹꃅꁱ	a bo xi	叔父	Father's younger brother
ꂷꀘꁱ	mo gui xi	叔母	Father's younger brother's wife
ꆹꂿꀕ	a ber zi	大姑母	Father's first elder sister
ꆹꂿꀋ	a ber ga	二姑母	Father's second elder sister
ꆹꂿꀊ	a ber zio	三姑母	Father's third elder sister
ꆹꂿꀉ	a ber ni	四姑母	Father's fourth elder sister
ꆹꂿꁱ	a ber xi	五姑母	Father's fifth elder sister
ꆹꀘ	i pi	姑夫	Father's sister's husband

Table 4

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Direct address for mother's brother's sons and daughters			
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
[illegible]	o zie ǰi	舅之長子	Mother's brother's eldest son
[illegible]	o zie ga	舅之次子	Mother's brother's second son
[illegible]	o zie zie	舅之三子	Mother's brother's third son
[illegible]	o zie m̄	舅之四子	Mother's brother's fourth son
[illegible]	o zie ni	舅之五子	Mother's brother's fifth son
[illegible]	a m̄i ǰi	舅之長女	Mother's brother's eldest daughter
[illegible]	a m̄i ga	舅之次女	Mother's brother's second daughter
[illegible]	a m̄i zie	舅之三女	Mother's brother's third daughter
[illegible]	a m̄i m̄	舅之四女	Mother's brother's fourth daughter
[illegible]	a m̄i ni	舅之五女	Mother's brother's fifth daughter

Table 5

Direct address between sisters-in-law							
Sister addressing brother's wife				Wife addressing husband's sister			
Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation	Lolo Language	Lolo Pronunciation	Chinese Translation	English Translation
[illegible]	a ma	大嫂	First elder brother's wife	[illegible]	a ma	大姑	Husband's first elder sister
[illegible]	a mi̱ ga	二嫂	Second elder brother's wife	[illegible]	a ma ga	二姑	Husband's second elder sister
[illegible]	a mi̱ si	三嫂	Third elder brother's wife	[illegible]	a ma sio	三姑	Husband's third elder sister
[illegible]	a mi̱ sil	四嫂	Fourth elder brother's wife	[illegible]	a ma sil	四姑	Husband's fourth elder sister
[illegible]	a mi̱ ni	五嫂	Fifth elder brother's wife	[illegible]	a ma ni	五姑	Husband's fifth elder sister

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/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Lolo, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 198-235./